1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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326 114 These authentic documents, which do not represent a traditional historiography such as is contained in the *lontar* literature, but reflect with documentary reliability the actual conditions at the time of their dating, demonstrate that before the arrival of Hindu culture on Java and Bali the *desa* was the political unit. All traditional indigenous power was vested in the *desa* authorities. And in the *desa* the smiths (including the blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths) were among the important craftsmen represented by an *ĕmpu*, a 'master' (smith).

463 823 565 This is true on Bali even today; specific functions in the village community are still performed by members of specific classes: *pasĕk*, *kĕbayan*, *pande*, and so forth.[5] All metal was and is considered by Indonesians as magically dangerous, magically 'charged', and anyone who desires to be in daily contact with it must himself have magic power at his disposal, since otherwise there are great risks involved. For this reason the smiths constituted a separate genealogical group in which not only the technique of forging was kept secret but certain magical craft usages were retained – usages in connection both with the initiation of apprentice-sons and with the tools of the trade, which on Bali even today may only be used after certain *mantras* have been recited. De Kat Angelino published these *mantras* in his instructive study,[6] and I have also found them listed in the 'codex of the smiths', the *Prasasti Sira Pande Ĕmpu*, to which I shall return below.

326 643 With the establishment and expansion of royal authority, and hand in hand with it that of the priests, who were also made members of the judiciary newly instituted after the Hindu model – in a word, with the rise and development of the Hindu-Javanese state, – it goes without saying that the older crafts and social forces were driven into the background.

Despite the Hinduism which he officially professed, however, the early Javanese or Balinese ruler was Indonesian to the core, and the magic power of the *pande wĕsi* was just as real to him as to every other Javanese or Balinese. In order not to turn that magic power against it, but rather in its favour, it seemed to the court group (the ruler and the priests, each with a vast host of subordi-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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There is little hunting and fishing as an occupation. Nets, snares, and traps are used in hunting, primarily to catch chevrotains, which are to be found in abundance near the boundary with the *desa* of Dauh Tukad. The Tĕngananese girls are very fond of the *dedes rase*, so that the young fellows, especially, concentrate on catching this musk-deer.

There is practically nothing done in the way of handicrafts (with the single exception of weaving) in Tĕnganan. I counted only twelve carpenters, two wood and stone workers, and one smith in the village. The smith comes from the village of Tunggak, and is bound to the *desa* by a permanent debt. The Tĕngananese smiths of earlier times have moved to the *pande* village of Bratan. The dwellings display little that is artistic; only a few temple gates have been given a certain amount of decoration by artists from other villages. Nowadays, however, there are several skilled wood carvers in the village.

The dwellings are to a very large extent covered with coconut leaf. The roofing is done by persons from other *desas*, who also provide the material. If a roof is to be covered with *alang-alang*, however, other members of the *desa* are asked to help. As was pointed out, the *bale buga* must have a roof either of coconut leaf or sugar-palm fibre, which latter is very expensive. Plaiting and the making of bricks and pottery are prohibited activities, though the women are allowed to glaze ceramics made elsewhere.

So-called Tĕngananese fabrics are popular throughout Bali and among all tourists. It is, however, not so well known that these fabrics are made only in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, and not, for example, in the nearby *desas* of Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Tĕnganan Pasĕdahan. Hence the Balinese themselves rightly call the fabrics *gĕringsing*, though Europeans always speak of Tĕngananese cloths.[12] It is frequently said that the reddish-brown colour which gives the fabrics such a warm glow beside the black and yellow was originally obtained with human blood. In Tĕnganan itself, however, this is emphatically denied. As far back as can be remembered the dye has been obtained from Nusa Pĕnida, and the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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island. I-Tanggú told me this legend of how the land came to belong to the village: 423

"Hundreds of years ago, long before the Hindu-Javanese settled in Bali, the powerful king Bedaulú lost his favourite horse. Broken-hearted, the king sent the men of whole villages in all directions with orders to find the stray horse. The Tenganans went eastward [2] until, after days of travel, they found the corpse of the horse. The king asked them to name their reward, but their spokesman said they wanted only the land where the horse was found; that is, the area covered by the smell of the carcass. Although the horse had been dead for many days under the tropical sun, Bedaulú considered this a modest request and sent an official with a delicate sense of smell to measure off the land, starting from the place where the horse lay. Accompanied by the chief of Tenganan, he walked for days, but no matter how far the two went, the smell seemed to follow them. Finally the official was exhausted and could go no farther; he said he considered the land already covered enough, and the Tenganans were satisfied. When the official left, the chief pulled from under his clothes a large piece of the rotten flesh of the horse." 173 539 423

I-Tanggú told me the story as we went up to the top of a hill to look at one of the remains of the famous horse; the penis, "which had turned to stone." On the summit, under a large tree, was the relic, a long river stone shaped like a phallus by the action of water. Passing people had left offerings on top of it. I-Tanggú also said that the people of Tenganan are not permitted to work their vast lands with their own hands, but hire other Balinese to do the agricultural work for them. The aristocratic com- 778 463

[2] The people of Tenganan claim to have come originally from the district of Bedulu, named after King Bedaulú, near the once holy city of Pedjeng. The Bratan people, a branch of the same family, are supposed to have gone northward in search of the horse. But having failed, they did not dare to return and still live near Singaradja in Desa Bratan, where they constitute a special caste of silver-workers, and where Patimah has her silver shops. The Tenganans still recognize their alliance with the people from Bedulu and make special visits to them at the feasts of the temple of Samantiga. The people of Bedulu also go to Tenganan on special occasions to make offerings.

2: Covarrubias | R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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434 were always busy in the ricefields, but rice cannot be considered
511 an important source of cash income. The Balinese grow rice for
[243] personal consumption and for offerings, selling only what is left over from the second planting, which they regard as unfit for offerings to the gods.

Their main source of income is in the sale of cattle and pigs,
434 and of coconuts for making copra; a second source is from coffee,
443 rice, and tobacco which they sell for export to Chinese middle-
463 men. The trades and crafts are incidental sources of income and in the markets one may see people selling pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth, together with the vendors of vegetables, dried fish, spices, and flowers. Some craftsmen, such as the gold- and silver-workers, the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers of palm, and pottery-makers, have regular incomes, but they remain independent artisans. The Balinese men work for wages only spasmodi-
[461] cally and as an adventure. In the larger towns they engage as chauffeurs, clerks, and servants — positions which are regarded as superior. With the affluence of tourists, some now derive an income from the sale of sculptures, paintings, silverwork, weavings, and so forth.

Ruled by the principle of live and let live, landowners allow
465 others without land to share their crop in exchange for help. There are, however, organizations of labourers (*seka medjukut*) who work the earth for a communal wage. They are paid by time
[405] recorded by water-clocks (*gandji*) similar to those used in cock-fights: a half coconut-shell with a small hole in the bottom, placed in a basin of water, the time it takes to sink being the measure. The fees are arranged by the head of the group.

At the present time, however, the economic balance has, tem-
778 porarily at least, ceased to exist. With taxes and imported com-
511 modities on the increase, and the price of Balinese products for export at rock-bottom levels, the whole population has come to find itself in need of cash, not in *kepengs* (Chinese cash valued at a fraction of a cent with which they buy the daily necessities), but in Dutch guilders worth from five hundred to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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number of sculptors in Bali. Domestic architecture is simply of wood and thatch with secondary walls, undecorated for the most part, and is the concern of carpenters and thatch-workers. Formerly the vassals of the feudal princes built great palaces for them, many of which are still among the finest examples of Balinese architecture, but today the artistic activity of the people goes into the care of their places of worship and other communal buildings, still erected and repaired with great intensity.

In Bali there is no special class of architects, and the sculptors are in charge of designing, directing, and even working themselves in the construction of a temple, assisted by a number of stone- and brick-workers. A master carver should be able to plan beautiful gates, which are the most important examples of Balinese architecture. In Mas, a village of Brahmanas, we saw once an architectural drawing, rather resembling our architectural projects, for a temple gate to be erected in the village. The drawing was made by Ida Bagus Ktut, carver, actor, and musician, member of a whole family of artists; the position and shape of the stones and the carvings on what was to be in sandstone were drawn in great detail on European paper with black ink, with the parts to be made of brick painted red. I believe, however, that this drawing was exceptional, and usually the work is started without a drawn plan. For the making of the great towers for cremation, for example, the master builder simply has the design and the proportions already worked out, as the Balinese say, "in his belly."

The only stone to be found in the island is a soft sandstone, a conglomerate of volcanic ash called *paras*, quarried on the banks of rivers. The stone appears to be softer when freshly taken from the ground and becomes harder with time under favourable conditions. Dr. Stutterheim claims that the stone was protected in old times by a coating of cement, but I had no occasion to verify this and I never found evidence of such cement being used by the present-day Balinese. It is perhaps the softness of this, the only stone in Bali, that is responsible for the over-intricate art of the

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

fully preserved and reverently handed down by the people for perhaps five hundred to a thousand years.

The palm-leaf instruction books are referred to chiefly while a young priest is studying for office. As a rule by the time he is ready to officiate the order of the ritual and the prayers have become so familiar to him that he needs no book of instructions. Similarly, the array of offerings is taken care of by the women, special offering experts, who seem to be able to carry in their heads the thousands upon thousands of minutiae without which the offerings would not be complete, and in their finger tips, the necessary twist of the knife to cut out this or that intricate design in the folded leaves of young palm which will form the decorative fringes, panels, streamers, and top-pieces.

As the day of the festival approaches, more and more time is required of the villagers. At the last moment, a few thousands of small cakes are to be baked. Elaborate compositions of flowers and fruits and cakes have to be built up on a banana-stalk base, each unit impaled on a bamboo skewer to hold it in its place in the formal design of the offering. The meat offerings are the last to be got ready, lest they spoil in the heat, and these are the especial care of the men. A pig is killed, sometimes a calf, and ducks and chickens by the dozen. Intestines are pulled out and washed and refilled to make sausages. Fowls are roasted over spits. A great chopping and hashing goes on feverishly for many hours, as the men mix up concoctions of vegetable, meat, and blood to form around the little skewers for roasting and to serve up in mounds to accompany the rice. A special attention is to cut up the fat of the pig into flowers, impale these and fix them in a central support, to form a bouquet of pig-fat, one of the most imposing of the ornamental offerings.[4] But in the course of all these preparations, though the tongue be hanging out for a taste of the unwonted delicacies, no one forgets that this is a feast for the gods, and that the villagers will only get their share after the gods have been served. They will receive, as it were, the leavings from the gods' table, which they call *loengsoeran*, literally, "what is asked back."

For the occasion of the festival the local players of the *gamelan* orchestra, the actors and dancers of the village often prepare a new performance. Many hours of rehearsal may go into working up a new composition, based on the old melodies and rhythms, but recreated for the festival performance. If the village boasts trained dancers, these also go through a rigorous training period before making their "opening" at the temple festival. In many cases, especially if the village has funds, neighboring troupes of dancers and actors are invited to give a performance for a small fee and a part of the feast, or again a play may be arranged with the local talent augmented by one or two famous players, a clown or a player of a princely role, who comes from a distant village and adds to

[4] See Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 115, Plate 30, Nos. 3, 4.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

déwa alit, small gods, understand that they are as young in years as they are small in stature, mere babies in fact, still carried on the hip. We have found it everywhere the custom for the figures of these small gods to be borne in the crook of the left arm, just as babies are carried astride the hip, and the Balinese term for this way of carrying them is the same as for babies (*njabit*, *njinggal*), whereas the usual mode of carrying gods upon the head is called *njoeroeen*, *moendoet*. In some districts it is even customary to bind the figure to the child or woman who carries it with a strip of white cloth passed over the right shoulder, just as babies may be carried slung in the mother's *antèng*, the ends of the scarf passing over her right shoulder tucked under the baby's bottom as it sits astride her left hip. We have seen this custom misunderstood, broken down, and made incomprehensible, as in Dendjalan, where the figure was bound in the waist band of a little girl. In support of the interpretation of the figures as infants, not as bigger children, it may be said that it is as usual in Bali to see babies borne on the hips of small girls as of adult women, so that the identification in age of the *widiadari* with her nurse does not follow. On the other hand, the little trance-dancers *sang hijang dedari* (*dedari* is Balinese for the Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*, of which *widiadari* is a corruption) entered in trance by the very same spirits which imbue these figures, are little girls, from five years up to, and ending at, puberty.

Now in the Temple of Nagasari it was time to prepare the *tapakan* (supports) for the representation of the *widiadara-widiadari*. The figures are known as *gegaloeh*, and had to be made of *boesoeng metantan*, young palm-leaf fresh from the tree, so that it would be sure that it had not fallen and touched the ground. Two of the most practised offering-makers settled themselves on the base of the *Balé Pengaroeman* with the fresh yellow leaves in their laps. One of these women is a cripple, whose whole body is twisted and deformed, who limps, and whose face is a crumpled mask. It was all right, apparently, for her to take part in the making of the *gegaloeh*; but when a third woman with a protruding belly came over to lend a hand, these two motioned her away, calling out, "*Da! Anak beling, sing dadi!*" (Don't! A pregnant women, that's not allowed!)[13]

With flying fingers they folded, cut out, twisted, and wove the strands of palm, to make according to its set pattern each of the constituents of this "*sanggah oerip*" (shrine of life). Thus four sides of leaf opening at right angles to each other, with a cut-out design, as liver (*ati*), the body (*pengawak*), formed of four leaves bent outwards, standing on a base

[13] Cf. a pregnant woman is not allowed to go near a delivery. Puppets are also said sometimes to be nursed (*ngemban*, to nurse; *pengemban*, the nurse) by those who carry them.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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rebellion against his father's authority, the events described having occurred when he was no more than six or seven:

"My father beat my mother too hard, and I became too angry. Then my father beat me very hard. I followed him when he went out to work in the ricefields. I took money from the pocket of his jacket which he had laid down on the edge of the fields. I ran away. For a month I did not go home.

"With the money I bought rice in the market, and I stayed out all day in the rice fields, and I never saw my father and my mother. At night I would go into the house of one of my other fathers (uncles) and sleep with the children. My father and mother did not know where I was. Then one day my mother saw me. She wept, and begged me to come home. I went home.

"My father was only silent."

In this encounter, since the father did not beat him on his return, the child seems to have triumphed over the man.

Another deviant is Madé, who rebelled not so much against paternal authority as against the prescribed rules of tradition. He is a young man of impulsive temperament, with ways unusually quick and nervous in a Balinese, quick to laugh and quick to be angered, extremely efficient when engaged in tasks which interest him, lazy and unreliable at all other tasks. Born in a small hamlet far from the town, and at several miles' distance from the motor road, he decided when still a boy to become a chauffeur. He left his farmer parents, and went to live with relatives in the town. There he attended school, learned to speak Malay, and began to pick up from older boys the knowledge of his chosen trade. He served his apprenticeship with them, receiving their teaching in return for the performance of menial duties. When he had sufficient knowledge, he in turn got a job as chauffeur, and was able to marry, buying with the money he earned the rice which he had not been able to raise on his family land. (So strong is the farming background in Balinese life that any man who has had employment and loses it automatically goes back to tilling the land until he can find new work.) Although Madé is skillful as a driver and mechanic, he is not very successful. The very qualities which made him turn from the environment and occupation to which he was born, and to which his forbears had for generations conformed, impede his progress as a chauffeur. He refuses to carry out orders unless it pleases him. He is impatient with any part of his work which is not mechanical.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 778 Mostly it is only the *lis isuh-isuh* or *lis tègtèg* that is used for sprinkling the holy water, but occasionally a second *lis* is also used. Although serving the same function as the *lis isuh-isuh*, this second *lis* is of a completely different form and is designated by another name. It is the *lis sanjata* formed from the symbols of the *nawa sanga*, the 'weapons' or emblems of the gods.

In addition, there is the *pèbuhu* [2], a *lis isuh-isuh* in miniature, but comprising only certain of the features of the *lis isuh-isuh* [3]. The *(pè)buhu* is included amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan*, ritual objects on the high platform from which the *padanda* (Brahman priest) officiates.

Structure of the lis isuh-isuh

*783 778 532 285 Some forty odd features are incorporated in the design of the *lis*, some being forms cut out of palm leaf, others being woven or plaited from palm leaf strips. To watch the making of a *lis* is to witness a wonder of artistic skill. The fact that almost all the offerings are designated by terms that are etymologically old led Goris to conclude that this art was an indigenous cultural element of great antiquity [4]. In general I find it possible to agree with that opinion, although this art would have been also applied to the making of offerings which expressed concepts absorbed from alien culture patterns. The symbols of the *nawa sanga* are an eloquent example of the absorption of external cultural influences. It is sometimes [177] possible to trace a Hindu influence even where a purely Balinese term is used to designate an offering. This point must not be overlooked. It is significant that the *tukang bantèn*, the woman who prepares the offerings, is usually the daughter of a Brahman priest. If this was the custom in past centuries it is obvious how new motifs could have been introduced into the traditional art of making offerings.

The actual making of the offerings was demonstrated to me by a *pèdanda's* daughter, who had learnt the art from her mother, an ordained priestess, and who earns her livelihood as *tukang bantèn* at temple festivals [463] and ceremonies in the houses of the nobility.

To cut out the required shapes from the young palm leaf she used a large kitchen knife, each movement of the knife being away from her. The leaves fashioned to represent limbs were also partly plaited into the required forms.

The drawings accompanying this article were made by Ida Bagus Anom, a professional artist at Ubud and a Brahman by birth but not ordained, from parts of the *lis* prepared by his sister-in-law, who is also a Brahman.

[2] Cf. Swellengrebel, op cit.

[3] These components are *lawat bwah* (13), *lawat nyuh* (14), *lilit linting* (15), *jahan sasapi* (19), and *sapuh* (23), the *sapuh* being duplicated.

[4] R. Goris and P. L. Dronkers, *Bali*, published by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1953?

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area balé are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies